

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01

EB-07 IO-10 AID-05 /074 W
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R 151000Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2714

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOGADISCIO 0388

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, SO

SUBJECT: IAD'S PROBLEMS WITH OGADEN TRIBESMEN

SUMMARY

1. OVER PAST SEVERAL MONTHS WE HAVE RECEIVED CONTINUING REPORTS OF SIAD'S DIFFICULTIES WITH OGADEN TRIBESMEN IN MOGADISCIO AND ELSEWHERE. OGADEN TRIBES HAVE BEEN PRESSING SIAD FOR ARMS AND FINANCING TO TAKE GUERRILLA OFFENSIVE IN OGADEN WHILE DIRG ENGROSSED WITH ETHIOPIA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND ERITREAN INSURGENCY. SIAD HAS REFUSED AND HAS JAILED OGADEN LEADERS. OGADEN TRIBES MAY HAVE BEEN BEHIND RECENT ANTI-REGIME TRACTS WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN CHISIMAYU AND MOGADISCIO. WHILE SIAD APPEARS TO HAVE SITUATION UNDER CONTROL, NEVERTHELESS OGADEN GROUP'S DISSATISFACTION MUST GIVE SIAD CAUSE FOR CONERN. END SUMMARY.

2. WE HAVE RECEIVED CONTINUING REPORTS SINCE FIRST OF YEAR ABOUT SIAD'S GROWING DIFFICULTIES WITH OGADEN TRIBESMEN IN MOGADISCIO. OGADEN TRIBES' DISSATISFACTION IS BASED UPON SIAD'S REPORTED FAILURE TO SUPPORT THEM WITH ARMS FOR OGADEN INSURGENCY, HIS WITHDRAWAL OR REDUCTION OF FINANCIAL SUBSIDIES, AS WELL AS SIAD'S TRIBALISM, WHICH HAS BENEFITTED
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SIAD'S FELLOW MEREHAN TRIBESMEN AT EXPENSE OF OTHER (BOTH

ARE DAROD).

3. WHILE LACK OF ARMED SUPPORT FOR OGADEN TRIBESMEN IN BORDER REGIONS IS MOST PUBLICIZED REASON FOR LATTER'S QUARREL WITH SIAD, IT MAY NOT RPT NOT BE KEY ISSUE. WE UNDERSTAND OGADEN TRIBES ARE ANGRIST AT SIAD'S WITHDRAWAL OR REDUCTION OF FINANCIAL SUBSIDIES, WHICH HAVE BEEN ESSENTIAL TO THEIR COMMERCIAL AND BUSINESS ACTIVITIES FOR SOME TIME. IN PAST YEARS, SUBSIDIES WERE ALSO AVAILABLE FROM ARAB EMBASSIES IN MOGADISCIO, INCLKDING EGYPTIAN EMBASSY. WHILE SUCH FUNDING HAD A PARAMILITARY PURPOSE, NEVERTHELESS IT BROUGHT OBVIOUS COMMERCIAL BENEFITS TO OGADEN PEOPLES, WHO ENJOYED PERENNIAL SUBSIDIZATION OF THEIR LIFE-STYLE, WHICH WASN'T AS FULLY MARTIAL AS THEIR REPUTATIONS.

4. OGADEN LEADERS' CHARGES THAT SIAD IS TRIBALIST WHO HAS AWARDED HIS OWN MEREHAN PEOPLES WITH JOBS, MONEY AND POWER BETRAYS OGADEN GROUP'S FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN FOR ECONOMIC EQUALITY (I.E., AS MUCH AS THE MEREHAN'S ARE GETTING). AT THE SAME TIME, ARAB FUNDING HAS DRIED UP AS WELL, AT LEAST IN MOGADISCIO. EGYPTIAN MIL ATTACHE OCCASIONALLY RECEIVES OGADEN LEADERS, WHO ARE LOOKING FOR SUBSIDIZATION, BUT EGYPTIANSNTN LIKE OTHER ARAB MISSIONS, ARE UNWILLING TO PROVIDE ANY SUPPORT. ANY ATTEMPT TO SUBSIDIZE OGADEN LEADERS WOULD IMMEDIATELY JEOPARDIZE ARAB POSITION IN SOMALIA.

5. SIAD'S REFUSAL TO PROVIDE ARMS FOR OGADEN TRIBES IS WHOLLY UNDERSTANDABLE, GIVEN HIS RESTRAINT AT PRESENT REGARDING THE OGADEN, AND HIS PROBABLY UNWILLINGNESS, FOR THE FUTUTE, TO MAKE HIS ETHIOPIAN POLICY A HOSTAGE TO THE ANTICS OF THE OGADEN TRIBESMEN. BUT A COMPLEMENTARY REASON INVOLVES SIAD'S OWN SECURITY IN SOMALIA. HE SIMPLY DOESN'T TRUST THE OGADEN TRIBESMEN, NOR ANY OTHER ARMED GROUP AT THIS TIME. WE UNDERSTAND THAT PRESENT POLICY LIMITS TO ABSOLUTE MINIMUM SOMALI ARMY WHO CARRY ARMS AND AMMUNITION.- IN VIEW OF THAT POLICY, IT IS NOT HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHO SIAD WOULD NOT PROVIDE OGADEN TROUBLEMAKERS WITH RIFLES EVEN IF, FOR POLICY REASONS, HE SUPPORTED OGADEN INSURGENCY.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2715

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOGADISCIO 0388

6. SIAD RESTRAINT IN HANDING OUT FINANCIAL SUBSIDIES TO OGADEN PEOPLES IS MORE COMPLICATED ISSUE. WE SUSPECT THAT SIAD IN HIS ACCEPTANCE OF QTE SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM UNQTE HAS ALSO TAKEN A MORE PURITANICAL LOOK AT THE NOTION OF WINNING OVER POLITICAL PROBLEM GROUPS WITH FINANCIAL PAYOFFS. WE BELIEVE THAT OGADEN PEOPLE AND THEIR FINANCIAL DEMANDS REPRESENT FOR SIAD THE SORT OF CORRUPTION OF PRIVILEGE WHICH FLOJRISHED IN SOMALI IN PAST YEARS AND WHICH HE IS NOW TRYING TO PURGE. SIAD WOULD LIKE TOMAKE ALL OF SOMALIA'S NOMADIC POPULATIONS AMENABLE TO HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTROL AND TO MOBILIZE THEIR ENERGIES AND RESOURCES ON BEHALF OF THE REVOLUTION. OGADEN LEADERS ARE LESS EASY TO BRING TO HEEL THAN OTHERS, BECAUSE OF THEIR HABIT OF ACCEPTING FRRANCIAL SUBSIDIES IN PAST AS WAY OF LIFE AND ALSO BECUASE THEY, MORE THAN OTHER NOMADS, SYMBOLIZE SOMALI IREDENTIST AMBITIONS. BY DENYING THEM WEAPONS, SIAD CAN BE ACCUSED OF DENYING ONE OF SOMALIA'S FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL GOALS, THE RECOVERY OF THE OGADEN. OGADEN LEADERS ARE THUS CAPABLE OF STIRRING UP SENTIMENT AGAINST SIAD. BUT SAID HAS INDICATED TO DATE THAT HE WON'T KNUCKLE UNDER.

7. WE HAVE REPORTS WHICH INDICATE THAT AS MANY AS 400 OGADEN TRIBESMEN ARE CURRENTLY UNDER DETENTION BY GSDR. FOLLOWING APPEARANCE OF ANTI-SIAD TRACT IN CHISIMAYU IN FEB. SAYING THAT
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QTE FIVE YEARS OF MILITARY RULE IYAENOUGH UNQTE AND CALLING FOR SIAD'S QTE RETURN TO THE BARRACKS UNQTE, SOME THIRTY-FIVE TO FORTY OGADEN TRIBESMEN WERE BROUGHT TO MOGADISCIO AND PLACED IN CUSTODY. HANDFUL WERE GIVEN THEIR FREEDOM BUT REQUIRED TO REPORT DAILY TO POLICE OFFICIALS. MORE RECENT REPORTS INDICATE THAT SOME TWENTY-FIVE YOUNG OFFICERS WBEE RECENTLY DISMISSED FROM ARMY AND THAT MAJORITY OF THEM WERE OGADEN TRIBESMEN.

8. SINCE MARCH 1, A FEW ANTI-SIAD STATEMENTS HAVE APPEARED ON MOGADISCIO WALLS, APPARENTLY SCRAWLED BY NIGHT. SOLGANS REPORTEDLY SAY QTE DOWN WITH SIAD UNQTE AND QTE DOWN WITH

REVOLUTION UNQTE. ON NIGHT OF MARCH 13, ANTI-REGIME TRACTS ALSO APPEARED ON MOGADISCIO STREETS, APPARENTLY SCATTERED FROM AUTO. TRACTS -- WHICH WE HAVE NOT RPT NOT SEEN -- ALLEGEDLY SAID QTE DOWN WITH SIAD'S ROYALIST ATTITUDE; DOWN WITH THE REVOLUTION UNQTE AND WERE SIGNED BY THE SOMALI MASSES FREEDOM MOVEMENT. LOCAL POLICE EVIDENTLY PICKED UP MOST OF TRACTS BEFORE THE MORNING LIGHT AND NEXT EVENING PATROLLED THE STREETS, ACCOMPANIED BY STUDENTS, TO AGAIN MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE TRACTS WERE RECOVERED BEFORE DAYBREAK. THEY DIDN'T REAPPEAR.

9. SIAD ALLEGEDLY ATTRIBUTES THIS LATEST TRACT EPISODE TO THE OGADEN TROUBLEMAKERS. FEW OTHER CURIOUS INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN MOGADISCIO THIS WEEK WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE RELATED, INCLUDING FIRE WHICH DESTROYED GSDR WAREHOUSE STORED WITH DROUGHT RELIEF SUPPLIES, AND REPORTED THEFT OF SECRET MILITARY DOCUMENTS FROM ARMY HDQS. BUT FACT THAT SOME OBSERVERS LINK THESE EVENTS IN SOME VAGUE SORT OF WAY SHOWS AN UNEASIFESS ABOUT THE CURRENT SCENE WHICH WASN'T EVIDENT SIX MONTHS AGO.

10. WHILE IT APPEARS TO US THAT SIAD HAS THE OGADEN LEADERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS FIRMLY IN HAND, NEVERTHELESS THEY DO REPRESENT A POLITICAL FORCE WHICH, ALLIGNED WITH OTHERS, COULD CREATE MORE PROBLEMS FOR SIAD. TO DATE, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT ANY SUCH ALLIANCE HAS TAKEN OR IS TAKING PLACE.
HAMRICK

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